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Surely there are abundant values in the Bible to refresh the rural soul every day in the year, and ample material for interesting Bible-study which should win the attention of country boys and girls, and effectively develop their Christian characters.

Little has yet been attempted in the way of specific rural Bible courses for country Sunday schools, though the International Sunday School Association now has a commission appointed for the purpose. Perhaps the pioneer attempt in this line has been published the past year in *Rural Manhood* (Association Press, New York) under the general title, "Heroes of the Open Fields." This is a course of Bible-study for country boys and includes the

suggestive topics, "The Gardener's Sin," "The Farmer's Murder," "Laban's Hired Man," "A Country Boy's Hike," "The Shepherd of Sinai," "A Nation Outdoors with God," "A Big Fellow and a Lion," "Hunting Lost Asses," "A Prophet with a Cow," "A Slinger's Fights." After all, the whole matter is mainly a question of following the principle of apperception and appealing to the natural interests of country young people. There is plenty of appropriate teaching material and plenty of rural interest in the Bible, if we only discover it and utilize its great assets for the making of country character and for inspiring rural religion to function socially in the redemption of country life.

# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BOOK OF GENESIS

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### VII. The Akkadian Period (3500-2500) B.C.

#### A. The Sources for This Period

In this period we possess for the first time extensive written records both in Babylonia and in Egypt.

1. Babylonian sources.—The excavations that have been carried on in recent years in the mounds of Babylonia have resulted in the discovery of numerous works of art and of a vast number of inscriptions, either carved on stone or written on clay tablets, that were after-

ward baked, and so became indestruc tible except through breaking. In 1889 excavations were begun by the University of Pennsylvania at the mound of Nippur in Southern Babylonia. Here was discovered the tower-temple of Enlil, the chief god of ancient Babylonia. To his temple inscribed objects were presented by princes from all parts of the land and from these inscriptions the earliest history of Babylonia has been

reconstructed with surprising fulness.<sup>1</sup> These discoveries have been supplemented by the rich finds of the French excavations at Tello. Here also thousands of tablets have been excavated in the temple archives, that belong to the very earliest period of Babylonian civilization.<sup>2</sup> The French expedition to Susa has also unearthed many important monuments of early Babylonia that were transported thither as trophies by victorious kings of Elam.<sup>3</sup>

The principal historical texts have been published in transliteration and German translation by Thureau-Dangin.<sup>4</sup> Among the tablets from Tello, Scheil discovered in 1911 an extremely important document giving a list of seven dynasties that reigned during this period with the names of the kings in chronological order and the number of years of their reigns.<sup>5</sup> This tablet has revolutionized our conceptions of the chronology, and has necessitated the rewriting of the history of this period. We have also occasional references to the history of this period in the inscriptions of later kings.

- 2. Hebrew sources.—In Gen. 10:8-12(J) a tradition is preserved of the origin of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and in Gen. 11:1-9 we have an episode that probably belongs to this period.
- 3. Egyptian sources.—The Old Empire in Egypt, which included Dynasties

- I-VI according to the latest chronological investigations, was contemporary with the Akkadian period in Babylonia. The records of these dynasties carved in stone on the walls of their pyramids, tombs, and temples have been published in English translation by Breasted.<sup>6</sup> This translation supersedes all former ones.
- 4. Palestinian sources.—The excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer (1902-9) have disclosed in the lowest level the remains of a cavedwelling race that flourished during this period.<sup>7</sup>

# B. The Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians

As early as 3500 B.C. a people speaking a language closely akin to Hebrew and Aramaic moved out of North Arabia and settled on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, where they dispossessed the Sumerian population. These Semites entered Babylonia from the west and settled in the northern part of the country in the districts of Kish and Agade, or Akkad, as it was called in Semitic. The Assyrians were a colony from Babylonia that in remote antiquity settled on the upper waters of the Tigris. In language, religion and civilization they were identical with the Semitic Babylonians. The Semites also pushed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Peters, Nippur (1897); Hilprecht, The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia (1904); Explorations in Bible Lands (1903).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> De Sarzec et Heuzey, Découverts en Chaldée, 1877 ff.; Heuzey, Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes du Louvre, 1902.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> De Morgan, Délégation en Perse, 1902.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (1907).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Comptes rendus de l'Académie française, 1911, p. 606.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. I (1906).

<sup>7</sup> Macalister, The Excavations of Gezer, 1912.

eastward as far as the foot of the Zagros Mountains where they founded the kingdoms of Lulubu and Gutiu, whose rulers have left us early Semitic inscriptions. Southern Babylonia still remained in the hands of the Sumerians. Since Akkad was the chief center of the Semites, the ancient name for their language was Akkadian. It is so called in the dating of a tablet from the reign of Samsuiluna (2080 B.C.).1 For this reason it seems better to call these invaders Akkadians rather than the vague term Semitic Babylonians. Sumer and Akkad were thus the names respectively for the southern portion of the land that was occupied by the non-Semitic aborigines and the northern part that was occupied by the Semitic invaders.

The sculptures of this period distinguish sharply between the ethnological types of the Sumerians and Akkadians. The Sumerians shaved their heads and their faces, while the Akkadians wore long hair and full beards and mustaches. Hence the phrase "blackheaded ones" originated in this period as a description of the Akkadians in contrast to the Sumerians. Semitic kings say that the gods have given them sovereignty over the "black-headed ones." The Sumerian dress consisted of a thick woolen petticoat fastened around the waist with a girdle. Sometimes there was a series of skirts one above the other in horizontal flounces. Sometimes it was perfectly plain, at other times it was scalloped around the bottom. The Akkadian dress, on the other hand, consisted of a loin-cloth, over which was worn a long narrow strip of

cloth, wrapped around the body in spiral folds, and thrown over the left shoulder. Both of these types are depicted side by side in battle-scenes and other artistic representations. Sumerian and Semite were both in the land at the time of the First Dynasty of Kish and the contemporary kings of Lagash (about 3100 B.C.), so that we must suppose that the first entry of the Semites into Babylonia occurred much earlier, perhaps as early as 3500 B.C.

#### C. History of the Akkadian Period

The history of this period is a long series of conflicts between the Semitic dynasties in the north and the Sumerian dynasties in the south, in which the Semites continually gained the ascendency. Kish, Upi, and Agade successively held the hegemony in the north and reduced the kings of the south to the rank of patesis, or vassal kings. Through all the struggles the city of Lagash remained the chief capital of the Sumerians, and although it was tributary to the Semites, it never lost its identity. Little by little, however, the Akkadians encroached on the Sumerians until by the end of this period the population of Babylonia was mainly Semitic. Nevertheless, Sumerian civilization held its own and conquered the conquering Semites. The Semites had no writing and were compelled to use the Sumerian script. There was no way at first in which they could write Semitic in the Sumerian characters, so that they were obliged to use the Sumerian language. Thus it comes about that all the inscriptions of the rulers of Kish and Upi in the north are written in Sumerian,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Messerschmidt, Or. Lit. Zeit., 1905, col. 268 ff.; King, Chronicles, I, 180, n. 3.

even though the kings themselves may bear Semitic names. There is no Semitism in any text from Ur-Nina (ca. 3040 B.C.) to Lugalzaggisi (2800 B.C.). Sargon of Agade (ca. 2775 B.C.) and his dynasty are the first to write Semitic with Sumerian signs. This custom eventually prevailed for purposes of daily life, although Sumerian remained the sacred language for the transmission of all religious texts, like Latin in the Middle Ages.

From the inscriptions the astonishing fact has been made clear that Palestine was ruled by South Babylonia between 3500 and 2500 B.C. and that active trade was kept up between Babylonia and Syria all through this period. Ur-Nina, who, on the minimum calculation, lived ca. 3000 B.C., brought cedar-wood for his temples and palaces from Mount Amanus and Mount Lebanon. Lugalzaggisi, who reigned ca. 2800 B.C., has recorded that he subdued all the lands from the Sea of the Rising Sun to the Sea of the Setting Sun, and that he set up his statue on the shores of the Mediterranean as a symbol of his sovereignty. Sargon, king of Agade, who reigned about 2775 B.C., not only subdued Syria, but even crossed the sea in ships and established his authority in Cyprus. Gudea, king of Lagash, about 2575 B.C., brought cedars from Mount Amanus, building stone and alabaster from Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, copper from Mount Hermon, and gold from Arabia to adorn the temple of the god of his capital city.

#### D. The Tower of Babel

In Gen. 11:1-9 we are told that men settled in the land of Shinar (i.e.,

Sumer), and that they started to build a tower of baked clay bricks, but were prevented from finishing it by the confusion of languages, and that the place where this happened was called Babel (i.e., Babylon). This tower is referred to also in the inscriptions of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon (625–604 B.C.). The passage reads as follows:

As for Etemenanki, the temple-tower of Babylon, which before my time had become weakened and had fallen in, Marduk the lord commanded me to lay its foundation in the heart of the earth [and] to raise its turrets to heaven. Baskets, spades [?], and U.RU I made out of ivory, ushu, and mismakanna wood; I caused the numerous workmen assembled in my land to carry them. I set to work [?]; I made bricks, I manufactured burned bricks. Like the downpour of heaven, which cannot be measured, like the massive flood, I caused the Arabtu to carry bitumen and pitch. . . . . Unto Marduk, my lord, I bowed my neck; I arrayed myself in my gown, the robe of my royalty. Bricks and mortar I carried on my head, a hod of gold and silver I carried; and Nebuchadrezzar, the first-born, the chief son, beloved of my heart, I caused to carry mortar mixed with wine, oil, and [other] products along with my workmen. . . . . I built the temple in front of Esharra with joy and rejoicing, and like a mountain I raised its tower aloft; to Marduk, my lord, as in days of old, I dedicated it for a sight to be gazed at.

Nebuchadrezzar had the glory of being the one to complete this tower. According to his inscriptions it consisted of seven stages. The first was 300 feet square and 110 feet high, the second 260 feet square and 60 feet high, the third 200 feet square and 20 feet high, the fourth 170 feet square and 20

feet high, the fifth 140 feet square and 20 feet high, the sixth 110 feet square and 20 feet high. The seventh stage was the temple of the god Marduk. This tower not only served as an ornament to the temple behind it, but also was used by the priests of Marduk in making astronomical observations.

From this it appears that the Tower of Babel was a tower-temple that had been begun by a prehistoric king of Babylonia. The confusion of tongues that prevented its completion was probably the invasion of Babylonia by the Semitic Akkadians which brought about such political disorder that the king who had undertaken this task was unable to carry it out. The vast foundations remained one of the wonders of the world, and became known to Canaanites at the time of the Babylonian supremacy, from whom the story passed to the Hebrews after their conquest of Canaan.

#### E. Remains in Palestine

The Palestinian remains that belong to this period are the lowest strata in the mound of Gezer, and similar strata in other parts of the country. These consist of caves hewn in the soft limestone rock, containing chipped flints, bone and wood implements, pottery, and other products of the Neolithic age. Bronze or iron is not found, and the caves themselves bear evidence of having been excavated with bone or with wood implements. The remains found in them show that this people cultivated cereals of various sorts, and that they bred swine and goats. No traces of their religion are discovered, except in

the presence of rude phallic emblems. The idol-worshiping stage of religion had not yet been reached. Around the mouths of the caves multitudes of depressions known as "cup marks" are found in the surface of the rocks. There has been much dispute concerning what was their original design, but it is now generally believed that they served a religious purpose.

This primitive people cremated their dead, using for that purpose a cave fitted with a sort of chimney cut up through the rock in order to secure a good draught. The bottom of such a cave at Gezer is covered with the ashes of human bodies to a depth of over a foot. In these ashes a number of unburned bones were discovered, and from them it has been possible to reconstruct the ethnological features of the race. They did not belong to the Semites, since their skulls were of a different shape, and they were of inferior stature. None of the men exceeded 5 feet 7 inches in height. The fact that they burned their dead also proves that they were not Semites, since cremation has never been a custom of the Semitic peoples.

#### F. The Old Empire in Egypt

Contemporary with the Akkadian period in Babylonia was the Old Empire, as it is called, in Egypt which included Dynasties I–VI of the lists of kings. Menes, the founder of the First, or Thinite, Dynasty, lived about 3300 B.C. He was a prince of the Upper Egyptian town of Thinis who succeeded in uniting all the districts of Egypt under his rule. His tomb was discovered by De Morgan at Naqada in 1897. The objects found

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See De Morgan, Ethnographie préhistorique, pp. 142-202.

in this tomb are extremely fine products of the archaic style of art known as late pre-dynastic. The tombs of the other kings of the dynasty have been found at Abydos, the chief seat of the Osiris cult in later times. The beautiful objects of gold, ivory, and stone that these contained bear witness to the high development of art in this early period.<sup>1</sup> The fifth king of this dynasty, Semempses (Semerkhet), has left a relief carved on a rock in the Wâdy Maghâra at Mount Sinai.2 This shows that as early as the First Dynasty the Egyptians invaded the Sinaitic peninsula in order to mine copper, turquoise, and malachite. The same is proved by the objects made of these minerals that are found in their tombs.

The Second Dynasty also was of Thinite origin. The graves of some of its kings have been found in Abydos. It continued the primitive art and civilization of the First Dynasty.

The Third Dynasty had its capital at Memphis. Its first king Zoser constructed as his tomb a terraced pyramid at Sakkara like the tower-temples of Babylonia that marks the transition from the rectangular mastabas of the earlier period to the true pyramids of the succeeding period.<sup>3</sup> He also has left an inscription at the copper mines of Mount Sinai.<sup>4</sup> The later kings of this dynasty probably constructed the great stone pyramids of Dashur which are the earliest specimens of this type of architecture. They bear wit-

ness to the wealth and power as well as to the engineering skill of this dynasty.

Snefru, the first king of the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2800 B.C.) developed the mining operations at Sinai to such an extent, and put them on such a permanent military basis that he was regarded by later generations as the patron god of this region. He has left a relief and inscription at Sinai.5 He probably constructed the terraced pyramid at Medum and also the pyramid with a double slope at Dashur. Khufu, the successor of Snefru (the Cheops of the Greeks), was the builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh near Cairo, the largest structure ever reared by the hand of man. The two other pyramids at Gizeh, which are nearly as large, were erected by Khafre and Menkure, later kings of the same dynasty. Khufu also has left an inscription in the Wâdy Maghâra at Mount Sinai.6 Khafre was perhaps the erecter of the Sphinx.

The kings of the Fifth Dynasty continued the glory of the Fourth Dynasty. They also were pyramid-builders and conducted expeditions to Sinai and to Punt, or the Somali coast, at the southern end of the Red Sea. The pyramid of Unis, the last king of the dynasty, contains the so-called Pyramid Texts, which are the earliest extended records of the Egyptian religion, and are the foundation of the ritual formulae that went to make up the later Book of the Dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Petrie, Royal Tombs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Petrie, Researches in Sinai, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Breasted, History of Egypt, Fig. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie, Researches in Sinai, p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Petrie, Researches in Sinai, p. 44; translated by Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, I, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Breasted, Ancient Records, I, 83.

It appears, accordingly, that the period of the Old Empire in Egypt (3500-2500 B.C.), contemporary with the Akkadian and Sumerian states of Babylonia before the rise of the first Dynasty of Babylon, was an era of high attain-

ment in the arts and sciences in both lands; and that both Egyptian and Babylonian civilization reached their classical form in this period, and did not deviate greatly from it during the succeeding centuries.

#### VIII. The Amorite Period (2500-1580 B.C.)

#### A. The Babylonian Sources

For this period a large number of original Babylonian sources have come to light during the last few years. These consist of inscriptions of the kings, law-codes and legal documents, contracts, deeds and other business records, and numerous letters of the kings and of private individuals.<sup>1</sup>

# B. History of Babylonia in the Amorite Period

From these various sources we learn that about 2500 B.C. a second wave of Semitic migration poured out of Arabia and overflowed Babylonia. Evidence of this is found in a new type of proper names that suddenly makes its appearance. Among the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon and in contractablets of the same period names occur in which the deity is designated as 'Abi,

"father," or 'Ammi, "paternal uncle," or Shumu, "name," and the third person imperfect of the verb is formed with prefixed ya. These formations are not Babylonian, but are characteristic of the Canaanite group of languages. That this migration was not limited to Babylonia is proved by the ancient Minaean inscriptions which Halévy and Glaser have discovered in South Arabia. The names found in these are of precisely the same types as those just mentioned. The Egyptian monuments bear witness that the valley of the Nile was overrun by Semites at the same time when Babylonia was invaded. Canaan also was affected by this Semitic migration, as is shown by two proper names of this period, Ammi-anshi, in the travels of Sinuhe, and Abishai, on the tomb of Khnumhotep. We are led thus to the conclusion that about 2500 B.C. a wave

<sup>1</sup> See L. W. King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, about B.C. 2200, to Which Are Added a Series of Letters of Other Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 3 vols., London, 1898–1900; L. W. King, Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings, 2 vols., London, 1907; H. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, Philadelphia, 1905; Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Philadelphia, 1907; A. Poebel, Documents of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Philadelphia, 1909; D. W. Myhrman, Sumerian Administrative Documents, Dated in the Reigns of the Kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur from the Temple Archives of Nippur, Philadelphia, 1910; A. Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie, Leipzig, 1914; S. A. Cook, The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, London, 1903; C. H. W. Johns, The Oldest Code of Laws in the World, Edinburgh, 1903; R. F. Harper, The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, Chicago, 1904; W. W. Davies, The Codes of Hammurabi and Moses, New York, 1905. For the discussion of the history of this period derived from these sources see King, History of Sumer and Akkad, pp. 303–20; Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 191–99; Paton, Early History of Syria and Palestine, pp. 25–63.

of Semitic migration overflowed Western Asia from Babylonia to Egypt and from Syria to South Arabia.

The most appropriate name for this migration is Amorite. In a contracttablet of the reign of Amisaduqa, a region in the vicinity of Sippar is called Amurru, i.e., "the Amorite"; and in another tablet of the same period this is identified with MAR-TU, which is the ideogram (or the ancient name) for Syria-Palestine. From this it follows, first, that MAR-TU of the earlier Babylonian inscriptions had become equivalent to Amurru, "the Amorite land"; and, second, that there were Amorites in Babylonia who, after the analogy of their western relatives, could be designated MAR-TU.

The Amorite invasion so weakened Babylonia that it lost its supremacy in Syria and Palestine, and could not resist the attacks of its neighbors. Kudur-Nanhundi, king of Elam, gathered his clans and swept down upon his hereditary foe. The Elamites had old scores to pay off, and now that their turn had come they showed Babylonia no mercy. They pillaged its cities, slew its people, burned its temples, and carried off the images of its gods. venerable sanctuary at Nippur, where for more than a thousand years the votive tablets of the kings had been set up, they razed to the ground, and broke its precious tablets in pieces.

The date of this conquest is given by the interesting statement of Ashurbanipal that, after his great victory over Elam, he brought back the image of the goddess Nana, which, 1,635 years before, Kudur-Nanhundi had carried away from its temple at Erech. This places the

Elamite incursion about 2280 B.C. It must thus have occurred just before the founding of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Kudur-Nanhundi did not himself administer the newly conquered territory, but intrusted it to a viceroy whose headquarters were at Larsa. A later one of these viceroys was named Kudur-Mabuk, governor of Yamutbal. He was assisted by his sons Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin.

The Elamite supremacy in Babylonia and in the West did not long survive. We have an inscription of Hammurabi (2123-2081 B.C.) which reads, "In the month Shabatu, on the 23d (22d) day, in the year when Hammurabi in the strength of Anu and Bel established his welfare, and the Governor of Yamutbal and Rim-Sin his [i.e., Hammurabi's] hand cast to the ground." From this inscription it is clear that Hammurabi succeeded in casting off the Elamite yoke. This achievement was followed by the uniting of Babylonia under his rule. Babylon now became the capital of Western Asia, and for many centuries it did not lose this position. Even after Assyria had robbed it of political influence it retained its religious supremacy. Like Rome of the Middle Ages it remained a holy city, from which law and learning went forth; and the conqueror who laid claim to the dominion of the world must still receive his crown from the hand of Bel, its chief god.

This lofty position she owed to the genius of Hammurabi. He conciliated the priesthoods of the local sanctuaries by rebuilding the temples that the Elamites had destroyed. He constructed

canals to drain swamps and to bring water. He carried on so many successful wars with the surrounding nations that in one of his inscriptions he speaks of himself as "the mighty warrior who hews down his foes, the whirlwind of battle that overthrows the land of the enemies, who brings conflict to rest, who brings rebellion to an end, who destroys warriors like an image of clay, who overcomes the obstacles of impassable mountains." That this conqueror gained control of Syria and Palestine also is proved by an inscription in which his sole title is "king of Martu."

Ammiditana, the great-grandson of Hammurabi, styles himself "king of the vast land of Martu." Here there can be no doubt that Martu refers to Syria-Palestine. He is the only king of the first Dynasty of Babylon besides Hammurabi who is expressly said to have ruled over the West, but it is probable that all the other kings maintained the traditional limits of the empire.

#### C. The Hebrew Sources for the Amorite Period

I. The document in Gen., chap 14.— This relates how in the days of Amraphel, king of Shinar, Chedorla'omer, king of Elam, in company with Arioch, king of Ellassar, and Tidal, king of Goiim, subdued the kings of the Vale of Siddim. Thirteen years later they rebelled, and the following year he came up with his allies and smote the regions east of the Jordan and of Southern Palestine. Then turning eastward, he engaged the kings of the Vale of Siddim,

defeated them, and carried away spoil and captives. Hearing of this, Abram, who dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, gathered his allies the Amorites, pursued Chedorla'omer, fell upon him suddenly by night, routed his army, and pursued the fugitives as far as Hobah in the neighborhood of Damascus. Returning, he restored his possessions to the king of Sodom, and paid tithes to Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem.

It is now generally admitted that Amraphel is the same as Hammurabi, or Ammurapi, the sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The el at the end of the name is the word for god. The old Babylonian kings were deified even during their lifetimes. Whether the other eastern kings of Gen. 14:1 are mentioned in the Babylonian records is much disputed. It is possible that the name read Arad-Sin in Semitic might have been read Eri-Aku, or Arioch, in Sumerian. Chedorla'omer, or Kudur-Laghamar, is an Elamite name of precisely the same formation as Kudur-Nanhundi and Kudur-Mabuk, and Laghamar is a well-known Elamite deity. Since the Elamite supremacy lasted at least one hundred years, there is no difficulty in supposing that Kudur-Laghamar was one of the successors of Kudur-Nanhundi.

Amraphel is called "king of Shinar." From Gen. 11:2, 9 it is evident that the Hebrews located this land in North Babylonia, and regarded Babel (Babylon) as its chief city. With this corresponds the fact that Hammurabi was king of Babylon. The episode is dated "in the days of 'Amraphel," rather than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But see C. H. W. Johns, The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Prophets (1914), pp. 18 f.

in the days of Chedorla'omer; this implies a knowledge of Hammurabi's supremacy over Western Asia after his defeat of the Ellamites. Elassar, the residence of Arioch, is manifestly a corrupted form of Larsa, the Babylonian capital of the Elamites. Chedorla'omer is called "king of Elam," which corresponds with the Elamite form of his name. It appears, accordingly, that Gen., chap. 14, displays a surprisingly accurate knowledge of Babylonian history in the time of the First Dynasty.

As to the origin of this document there is general agreement that it is not derived from J, E, or P, the main sources of the Book of Genesis, but is a unique and independent narrative. So many historical details cannot have come down through oral tradition, like the material in the other Pentateuchal documents, but must rest upon written records. Two theories are possible: either records of the time of Chedorla'omer were preserved in Palestine, or else the Jews, after they were carried into captivity, had access to Babylonian tablets of the time of Hammurabi. In the first case the story of Abram's relations to the kings of the East must be regarded as an integral part of the record; in the second case, it will have to be pronounced a fanciful midrash appended to authentic ancient data. Both of these theories are held by competent critics, and there is no sign yet of an agreement.

The theory that a Jew of the exile derived the history of Gen., chap. 14, from Babylonian sources is fraught with grave difficulties. It is unlikely that the Babylonians of so late a date could have furnished the historical details

that are found in this narrative. names of the kings and of the regions over which they ruled are not conformed to Babylonian spelling, as must have been the case if they had been drawn directly from Babylonian records, but show a wideness of variation that is explicable only as the result of a long independent transmission. All have been recast in a manner which suggests that the Hebrews derived them from the Canaanites rather than from the Babylonians. The names of tribes and of places belong to the most ancient period of Palestinian history. The inhabitants, even of the extreme south, are represented as Amorites (vss. 7, 13). This is in accord with the Old Babylonian use of Amurru as the equivalent of Martu, or Syria-Palestine. The names of places in Gen., chap. 14, are archaic, as is shown by the fact that they are explained by the editor. Thus after Bela he remarks, "the same is Zoar"; after En-mishpat, "the same is Kadesh"; after the Vale of Shaveh, "the same is the King's Vale." Accordingly, the theory of the preservation of an ancient Palestinian document in Gen., chap. 14, commends itself as on the whole more probable.

2. Other Hebrew sources.—Our only other sources for this period are the narratives of Abraham in the J, E, and P documents of Genesis: the J document, which calls God Yahweh (Jehovah), was written in the kingdom of Judah about 850-800 B.C.; the E document, which calls God El or Elohim, was written in the kingdom of Ephraim about 800-750 B.C.; and P, or the Priestly document, was written in Babylonia about 500 B.C. By Massoretic Hebrew tradi-

tion Abraham is placed about 2100 B.C. There is thus an interval of 1,300 years between Abraham and the earliest of the documents of Genesis, and of 1,600 years between him and the latest of these documents. Under these conditions we cannot expect to find exact history in the stories of the patriarchs.

Having now considered the Babylonian and the Hebrew sources for the Amorite period to which Abraham is assigned by the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, in the next article we shall consider the nature and historical character of the Old Testament traditions in regard to Abraham.

#### A PRAYER FOR GUIDANCE

Our heavenly Father: We thank thee that we do not have to force ourselves to think of thee. We thank thee that thou art a part of our every thought. When we want thee, thou art not far from every one of us. When we turn away from thee, we are quickly reminded of thy presence. We thank thee that thou art with us, sometimes most impressively, when we are trying hardest to be alone. We thank thee that, whatever our need, we have found recourse in thee. Whenever we have been in moods like those of little children, we have found refuge in thee as a parent. Whenever we have been stricken or smitten with the heavier sorrows or stripes that fall to the lot of older men and women, we have found comfort and healing in thee. Whenever we have been most confident and inclined to arrogance, we have presently been reproved and corrected by finding that, at our utmost, we are still limited by the thought of God.

We come to thee now as men and women charged each with a part of the work of the world. Compared with thine eternity, we are creatures of a moment. Compared with thy providence and resources, we are futile. Yet among our fellow-men, for the brief space of our working years, we are trustees. To each of us is committed some important task, perhaps tasks of several different kinds. Thy will is to be done through us, perhaps in more than one way. Wilt thou then enable us to see our service, which might otherwise seem trivial and irksome, in such light as part of thy design that it may be glorified. With every enlargement and enrichment of our thoughts about the meaning of life, may we increase in ability to think of thee, and to act toward thee, as the Master Workman, the Architect of time and eternity, with a place in thine infinite plan for the best that each of us can perform. Especially may we learn to trace thy purpose, not apart from the human beings with whom we live and move, but first and foremost in everything that we can understand about possibilities of edifying one another's lives.

In the fellowship of him who discovered the Heavenly Father as the Eternal Worker. Amen.